

This record is a partial extract of the original cable. The full text of the original cable is not available.

CONFIDENTIAL PTQ2023

PAGE 01 HARARE 03263 010010Z  
ACTION EUR-00

INFO	LOG-00	NP-00	AF-00	AID-00	ACQ-00	CIAE-00	DODE-00
	SRPP-00	DS-00	EB-00	VC-00	H-01	TEDE-00	INR-00
	IO-00	L-00	VCE-00	AC-01	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OIC-02
	OIG-03	OMB-01	PA-00	PC-01	PM-00	PRS-00	ACE-00
	P-00	SCT-00	SP-00	IRM-00	SSO-00	SS-00	STR-00
	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00	R-00	EPAE-00	SNIS-00	NISC-00
	PMB-00	DSCC-00	PRM-00	DRL-02	G-00	NFAT-00	SAS-00
	/011W						

-----383CEO 010010Z /69

FM AMEMBASSY HARARE  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0167  
INFO NSC WASHDC PRIORITY  
SOUTHERN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT COMMUNITY  
AMEMBASSY CANBERRA  
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI  
AMEMBASSY ABUJA  
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS  
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA  
AMEMBASSY KINGSTON  
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM  
AMEMBASSY OSLO  
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

C O N F I D E N T I A L HARARE 003263

SIPDIS

NSC FOR SENIOR AFRICA DIRECTOR JENDAYI FRAZER  
BRUSSELS ALSO FOR USEU  
LONDON FOR GURNEY  
PARIS FOR NEARY  
NAIROBI FOR PFLAUMER

E.O. 12958: DECL. 10/31/11

TAGS: [PREL](#) [PGOV](#) [PHUM](#) [ZI](#)

SUBJECT: EU'S NEXT STEPS ON ZIMBABWE

REF: USEU BRUSSELS 5442

CLASSIFIED BY POLITICAL SECTION CHIEF MATT HARRINGTON. REASONS:  
1.5 (B) AND (D).

SUMMARY

11. (C) THE EU WILL FORMALLY NOTIFY THE GOVERNMENT OF ZIMBABWE WITHIN 15 DAYS OF ITS DECISION TO MOVE TO ARTICLE 96 DISCUSSIONS UNDER THE COTONOU AGREEMENT. THE GOZ WILL HAVE 15 DAYS TO DECIDE WHETHER TO PARTICIPATE, THEN UP TO 60 DAYS (I.E. LATE JANUARY) TO ADDRESS EU CONCERNS IN FIVE BROAD CATEGORIES. ABSENT GOZ PROGRESS AT THE END OF THIS PERIOD, THE EU CAN REDUCE OR ELIMINATE DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE OR SUSPEND TRADE PRIVILEGES, ALTHOUGH THE EC DELEGATION INFORMED US THAT THE LATTER HAS NEVER BEEN DONE AND THE EU FEARS THE FORMER MIGHT EXACERBATE ZIMBABWE'S ECONOMIC PROBLEMS. IMPOSITION OF SMART SANCTIONS IS NOT AN OPTION UNDER THE COTONOU AGREEMENT. ALTHOUGH THE GOZ'S INITIAL REACTION WAS SUBDUED, FOREIGN MINISTER MUDENGE SUBSEQUENTLY TOUGHENED HIS RHETORIC, LASHING OUT AT THE EU'S ISSUANCE OF "THREATS AND ULTIMATUMS" AND CRITICIZING THE UNITED KINGDOM FOR LEADING THE EU

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 HARARE 03263 010010Z  
ASTRAY. END SUMMARY.

EU'S MOVE TO ARTICLE 96 DIALOGUE

12. (U) REFTEL REPORTS THE OCTOBER 29 DECISION BY THE EU'S GENERAL AFFAIRS COUNCIL (GAC) TO MOVE TO A TOUGHER POLITICAL DIALOGUE WITH ZIMBABWE UNDER ARTICLE 96 OF THE COTONOU AGREEMENT. POLITICAL SECTION CHIEF MET ON OCTOBER 31 WITH ALEX KREMER, DEPUTY HEAD OF DELEGATION FOR THE EUROPEAN COMMISSION IN HARARE, TO DISCUSS THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE GAC MOVE.

PROCESS

13. (C) ACCORDING TO KREMER, THE GOVERNMENT OF ZIMBABWE LIKELY WOULD NOT BE FORMALLY NOTIFIED OF THE GAC DECISION UNTIL LATER IN THE WEEK. THE OFFICIAL LETTER OF NOTIFICATION IS CURRENTLY BEING DRAFTED IN BRUSSELS EXPLAINING THE DECISION AND CONVEYING THE TERMS OF REFERENCE FOR THE PROPOSED ARTICLE 96 DIALOGUE. (NOTE: THAT LETTER IS NOT LIKELY TO BE READY UNTIL ABOUT NOVEMBER 12, ACCORDING TO EU COMMISSIONER MOSCA. END NOTE.) AFTER IT RECEIVES THE LETTER, THE GOZ WILL HAVE 15 DAYS TO DECIDE WHETHER TO PARTICIPATE. KREMER PREDICTED THAT THE ANSWER ALMOST CERTAINLY WOULD BE "YES" BUT PROBABLY WOULD NOT BE CONVEYED UNTIL DAY 14 OR

15. THE EU AND ZIMBABWE WOULD THEN ENGAGE IN A DIALOGUE -- WHICH CAN LAST UP TO 60 DAYS, BUT NO LONGER -- INTENDED TO ACHIEVE PROGRESS ON THE FIVE BROAD CATEGORIES OF CONCERN DESCRIBED IN THE GAC'S DECISION: ENDING POLITICAL VIOLENCE, ELECTION MONITORING, FREEDOM OF THE MEDIA, INDEPENDENCE OF THE JUDICIARY, AND ENDING ILLEGAL OCCUPATION OF PROPERTIES. THE EC DELEGATION IN HARARE HAS  
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PAGE 04 HARARE 03263 010010Z  
RECOMMENDED THAT THE EU SHARE WITH THE GOZ SPECIFIC BENCHMARKS TO BE USED IN MEASURING PROGRESS, AND THAT THE BENCHMARKS BE LINKED TO THE SUBSTANCE OF THE ABUJA AGREEMENT. KREMER NOTED THAT NO FINAL DECISION HAD BEEN MADE ON THAT ISSUE, AS "SOME IN BRUSSELS" ARE CONCERNED THAT SHARING EXPLICIT BENCHMARKS MIGHT APPEAR TOO MUCH LIKE IMPOSING DEMANDS, AND THUS MIGHT NOT BE CONDUCTIVE TO PRODUCTIVE DIALOGUE. KREMER SPECULATED THAT THE DIALOGUE WOULD MOST LIKELY BE CONDUCTED AT THE MINISTERIAL LEVEL. THIS MAKES IT EASIER FOR THE GOZ TO DRAW THE PROCESS OUT, AND THE EU DOES NOT WANT THE LEVEL OF DIALOGUE TO BE USED BY THE GOZ AS AN EXCUSE FOR LACK OF SUCCESS.

"APPROPRIATE MEASURES"  
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14. (C) KREMER NOTED THAT, IF THE GOZ DECLINES TO PARTICIPATE IN THE DIALOGUE OR PARTICIPATES, BUT FAILS TO ADDRESS GENUINELY THE FIVE AREAS OF CONCERN DURING THE 60-DAY PERIOD, THE EU CAN THEN TAKE "APPROPRIATE MEASURES." SUCH MEASURES, ACCORDING TO KREMER, COULD INCLUDE REDUCTIONS IN ASSISTANCE OR SUSPENSION OF TRADE PRIVILEGES, OR BOTH. HE DOUBTED THAT THERE WOULD BE AN APPETITE WITHIN THE EU FOR IMPOSITION OF TOUGH MEASURES, EVEN IF LITTLE PROGRESS IS ACHIEVED. TRADE PRIVILEGES, HE SAID, HAVE NEVER BEEN SUSPENDED, EITHER UNDER THE COTONOU AGREEMENT OR ITS LOME PREDECESSORS. IN ADDITION, THERE IS CONCERN THAT SUSPENDING AID

-- MOST OF WHICH GOES TO BASIC EDUCATION, COMMUNITY LEVEL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS, AND COMBATING AIDS -- MIGHT WORSEN THE ALREADY DIFFICULT ECONOMIC PLIGHT OF ORDINARY ZIMBABWEANS. KREMER POINTED OUT THAT IMPOSITION OF SO-CALLED SMART SANCTIONS, TARGETING PRESIDENT MUGABE, HIS INNER CIRCLE, AND THEIR FAMILIES,  
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PAGE 05 HARARE 03263 010010Z  
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LIKELY SCENARIOS  
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15. (C) ASKED HOW HE THOUGHT THE ARTICLE 96 PROCESS WOULD UNFOLD, KREMER OFFERED TWO POSSIBLE SCENARIOS. THE GOZ WOULD AGREE TO THE DIALOGUE, WHICH WOULD ACHIEVE NO PROGRESS FOR 59 DAYS. ON THE 60TH DAY, THE GOZ WOULD THROW THE EU A BONE, SUCH AS ISSUING AN INVITATION TO ELECTION OBSERVERS, FORCING THE EU TO POSTPONE ANY DECISION ON SANCTIONS. A SECOND POSSIBILITY IS THAT THE GOZ TAKES NO STEPS WHATSOEVER TO ADDRESS EU CONCERNS, CAUSING THE EU TO SUSPEND ONE OR TWO AID PROJECTS, BUT TO AVOID A LARGE-SCALE ASSISTANCE CUTOFF, FOR THE REASONS ELABORATED IN PARAGRAPH 4.

GOVERNMENT'S REACTION  
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16. (C) ALTHOUGH THE EU HAS NOT YET FORMALLY NOTIFIED THE GOZ OF ITS DECISION ON ARTICLE 96, THE MOVE HAS BEEN WIDELY COVERED IN THE LOCAL PRESS. THE INITIAL PUBLIC REACTION OF FOREIGN MINISTER MUDENGE, THE GOZ'S PRIMARY INTERLOCUTOR WITH THE EU OF LATE, WAS SURPRISINGLY SUBDUED. IN THE OCTOBER 30 EDITION OF THE GOZ-CONTROLLED "THE HERALD," MUDENGE CALLED THE EU DECISION "PROCEDURAL," AND SAID "I AM READY TO DISCUSS WITH THEM UNDER ARTICLE 96. ZIMBABWE IS READY FOR THE CONSULTATIONS...AT THE MOMENT WE GO WITH AN OPEN MIND." THE FOREIGN MINISTER'S RHETORIC TOUGHENED CONSIDERABLY THE FOLLOWING DAY, HOWEVER, AS MUDENGE  
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PAGE 06 HARARE 03263 010010Z  
LASHED OUT AT THE EU FOR ISSUING "THREATS AND ULTIMATUMS" AND BLAMED THE BRITISH FOR MOBILIZING THE EU AGAINST ZIMBABWE. "WE WILL NOT ACT ON THE BASIS OF THREATS AND ULTIMATUMS," HE SAID, AND STRESSED THAT FOREIGN OBSERVERS WOULD NOT BE PERMITTED TO MONITOR ZIMBABWE'S PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION, BUT ONLY TO OBSERVE IT. KREMER JOKED TO US THAT MUDENGE'S CONCILIATORY INITIAL REMARKS LIKELY PRECEDED CONSULTATIONS WITH PRESIDENT MUGABE.

COMMENT  
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17. (C) WE SHARE KREMER'S ASSESSMENT THAT THE GOZ LIKELY WILL AGREE TO THE ARTICLE 96 DIALOGUE, BUT WILL THEN DELAY ADDRESSING THE EU'S CONCERNS AS LONG AS POSSIBLE, PERHAPS MAKING A MINOR CONCESSION OR TWO AT THE LAST MINUTE. IT DOES NOT APPEAR AS IF THE EU HAS MANY POLICY OPTIONS ON WHICH IT CAN DRAW IF THE 60-DAY DIALOGUE FAILS COMPLETELY. THE BOTTOM LINE IS THAT MOST DEVELOPMENTS ABOUT WHICH THE EU IS CONCERNED ARE KEY ELEMENTS OF THE GOZ'S ELECTORAL STRATEGY, AREAS THE GOVERNMENT WILL BE LOATHE

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18. (C) TIME IS WORKING IN THE GOZ'S FAVOR, SINCE THE ARTICLE 96 TIMELINE WILL NOT HAVE RUN ITS COURSE UNTIL LATE JANUARY WITH ELECTIONS LOOMING, POSSIBLY JUST WEEKS AWAY. EU COMMISSIONER MOSCA TOLD THE AMBASSADOR SHE RECOGNIZED THAT THE 60-DAY PERIOD ENDS TOO LATE FOR TIMELY PRESSURE ON ELECTION ISSUES, AND SHE WAS OPEN TO FINDING OTHER MEANS FOR PRESSING FOR EARLY AND EFFECTIVE ELECTION OBSERVATION AND REDUCTION OF POLITICAL VIOLENCE. IN THE  
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PAGE 07 HARARE 03263 010010Z  
MEANTIME, THE GOZ STRATEGY APPEARS TO BE "DIVIDE AND CONQUER," DEMONIZING THE BRITISH FOR LEADING THEIR CONTINENTAL BRETHREN ASTRAY. THIS IS SIMILAR TO THE GOZ ATTEMPT TO PORTRAY AN AFRICAN/NON-AFRICAN SPLIT IN THE COMMONWEALTH OVER ABUJA IMPLEMENTATION, A PLOY THAT HAS FOOLED NO ONE. WE DO NOT THINK THAT IT PLAYS WELL EVEN ON MAIN STREET HERE.

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PAGE 01 HARARE 03263 01 OF 02 312223Z  
ACTION EUR-00

INFO	LOG-00	NP-00	AF-00	AID-00	ACQ-00	CIAE-00	DODE-00
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	SNIS-00	NISC-00	PMB-00	DSCC-00	PRM-00	DRL-02	G-00
	NFAT-00	SAS-00	/011W				

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P 311535Z OCT 01  
FM AMEMBASSY HARARE  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0167  
INFO NSC WASHDC PRIORITY  
SOUTHERN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT COMMUNITY  
AMEMBASSY CANBERRA  
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI  
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 HARARE 003263

SIPDIS

NSC FOR SENIOR AFRICA DIRECTOR JENDAYI FRAZER  
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PAGE 02 HARARE 03263 01 OF 02 312223Z  
BRUSSELS ALSO FOR USEU  
LONDON FOR GURNEY  
PARIS FOR NEARY  
NAIROBI FOR PFLAUMER

E.O. 12958: DECL. 10/31/11  
TAGS: PREL PGOV PHUM ZI  
SUBJECT: EU'S NEXT STEPS ON ZIMBABWE

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PAGE 04 HARARE 03263 01 OF 02 312223Z  
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PAGE 01 HARARE 03263 02 OF 02 312223Z  
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P 311535Z OCT 01  
FM AMEMBASSY HARARE  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0168  
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SOUTHERN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT COMMUNITY  
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 HARARE 003263

SIPDIS

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PAGE 02 HARARE 03263 02 OF 02 312223Z  
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CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 HARARE 03263 02 OF 02 312223Z

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